1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

THE CAINGANG

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 131 The name *Caingang* (map 1, *No. 10*) was introduced in 1882 by Telemaco Morocines Borba to designate the non-*Guaraní* Indians of the States of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, who previously were known as *Guayaná*, *Coroado*, *Bugre*, *Shokleng*, *Tupí*, *Botocudo*, etc., but who are all linguistically and culturally related to one another and form the southern branch of the *Ge* family (long. 50° W. between lat. 20° to 30° S.).

101 619 **Guayaná.**—These Indians appear for the first time in the literature under the name of *Guayaná* (*Goyaná*, *Goaianá*, *Guayná*, *Wayannas*, etc.). Staden (1925, part 2, chap. 3) mentions them in the Capitania of São Vicente. Early documents assign to them the plains of Piratininga and the region where São Paulo was founded. According to Soares de Souza (1851, pp. 99–100) they were the masters of the entire coast of the present State of São Paulo, from Angra dos Reis to Cananéia. Actually, they shared the seashore with the *Guaraní*-speaking *Tupiníkin*. The Portuguese chronicler describes them as noncannibalistic people with softer dispositions than the *Tupinamba*, living in the open country, and shunning the forest where they were worsted by their *Tupinamba* neighbors. Tebyreçá, who played such an important part in the early history of São Paulo, was a *Guayaná* chief. The settlement of Pinheiros, near old São Paulo, was formed by Indians of that tribe. Since the toponymy of this region is *Guaraní*, some authors consider the *Guayaná* a *Tupí-Guaraní* tribe. Though it is possible that the *Guayaná* of Piratininga spoke *Tupí*, there is little doubt that the majority of *Guayaná* belonged to a different family and were the ancestors of the modern *Caingang*. In the last century the name *Guayaná* was still applied in the State of São Paulo to a group of 200 *Caingang* who were settled in 1843 near Itapeva (Saint-Hilaire, 1830–51, 2:439–461; Machado de Oliveira, 1846, pp. 248–254).

The chronicler Rui Díaz de Guzmán (1914, p. 14) speaks of *Guayaná*, *Pattes* (*Basas?*), *Chovas*, and *Chouacas*, who spoke related languages and had their habitat on the Piquirý River and on the Rio Negro.[1]

[1] Xarque (1909, 4:294) states that the "Guañana" were situated on the Piquirý River, near the missions of San Pedro, São Paulo, and Concepción.

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101 619 Lozano (1873–74, 1:422) calls *Guañana*, *Guayaná*, or *Gualacho* the non-*Guaraní* "who lived on the Iguassú River and extended to the Atlantic." His description of the culture of the *Guayaná* of the Iguassú River leaves little doubt that these *Guayaná* were the modern *Caingang*, the more so that the only word of their language which he mentions is a *Caingang* word (soul, "acupli"; modern, "vaicupli").

Azara (1904, pp. 404–407) divides the *Guayaná* into two unrelated groups. The first ranged west of the Uruguay River from the region of La Guayrá to an undetermined boundary in the north. These *Guayaná* who did not speak *Guaraní*, practiced bloodletting, used long bows, and raised some crops, were certainly identical to the *Caingang* who now occupy the same territory and who share the very culture traits enumerated by Azara.

The other *Guayaná* Indians described by Azara spoke *Guaraní* and lived on the right side of the Paraná River from the Caraguarapé River to the Monday River and on the left side from Corpus to the Iguassú River. The descendants of these *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* resided, at the beginning of this century, near Villa Azara, on a stream called Pirá-pytá. They disclaimed any connection with the *Caingang*, though Ramon Lista (1883) seems to have included them among the latter. (On the *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná*, see Vogt, 1904, pp. 216–218.)

North of these *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná*, on both sides of the Paraná River, lived a *Caingang* subtribe called *Ingain* (*Tain*) or *Ivotirocaý*, after the stream (a western tributary of the Paraná River) on which they had their headquarters. Their bands were scattered from the stream of Ivotirocaý to the vicinity of La Guayrá falls. Their name, *Tain*, suggests close affinities or identity with the *Taven*, who lived in the same region between the Paraná, the Piquirý, and the Itatú Rivers. These *Ingain* or *Taven* are the Indians whom Lista (1883) and Martinez (1904) describe as *Guayaná*. (On the *Guayaná* question, see Ihering, 1904 a, pp. 23–44; Sampaio, 1897; Martinez, 1904; Vogt, 1904, pp. 352–376.)

At the beginning of the century, *Caingang* groups could be found in the vast territory of the State of Paraná between the Iguassú and the Paranapanema Rivers, but in recent times they had no settlements near either river, but were fairly numerous along the Tibagý and Piquirý Rivers. The *Caingang* who lived between the Rio das Cinzas and the Tibagý River called themselves *Nyacfateitei;* they were separated by the Tibagý River from closely related Indians, who were their bitter enemies.

The names Votóro, Kamé, and Cayurukré, given to *Caingang* groups of Guarapuava and Palmas, are simply appelations of moiety or class subdivisions and not, as it has been long believed, of independent bands

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or subtribes. The *Dorin*, who lived on the river of the same name, and the *Taven* (see above), whose habitat was bounded by the Paraná, the Piquirý, and the Itatú Rivers, were true *Caingang* subgroups different from the subtribe of the Guarapuava region.

The first settlers of the Campos of Guarapuava found these plains in 1810 entirely occupied by *Caingang*. These Indians were placed in aldeas under the care of Father das Chagas Lima, who wrote the first eye-witness account of them. In order to prevent constant clashes between the *Caingang* and the first colonists, the Brazilian Government made various attempts to settle them in aldeamentos. In 1855–56, the settlements of São Pedro de Alcántara, San Jeronymo, and Jatahý were founded for them on the Tibagý River. However, many *Caingang* groups remained independent in the forests between the Piquirý, upper Ivahý, and the Iguassú Rivers.

A census of the *Caingang* of the Guarapuava region taken in 1827 by Father das Chagas Lima (1842, p. 62) gave: Kamé, 152; Votóro, 120; *Dorin*, 400; *Shocren*, 60; and *Taven*, 240. In 1905, Koenigswald (1908 a, p. 47) estimated the *Caingang* of the State of Paraná at about 2,000.

Coroado.—From the 18th century to the present day, the *Caingang* of São Paulo, Paraná, and Rio Grande do Sul have frequently been designated as *Coronado* or *Coroado* (The Crowned Ones) because of their typical Franciscan-like tonsure, a hairdress which they have abandoned only in recent years. This unfortunate term is responsible for the confusion between the *Caingang-Coroado* and the *Purí-Coroado*, who seem linguistically unrelated.

Coronado, Gualacho, and Caagua.—Lozano (1873, 1:69) applies the name "*Coronados*" to the Indians of the open plains or Campos de los Camperos, del Guarayru, del Cayyu, de los Cabelludos, and de los Coronados between the Huibay (Ivahí) and Iguassú Rivers. These *Coronado*, who were certainly *Caingang*, were the same as the *Gualacho* (*Gualachí*), *Chiquí*,[3] and *Cabelludo*, who lived in the same region. As a matter of fact, Lozano himself considers these names to be synonyms of *Guañaná* (i. e., *Guayaná*). In the Cartas Anuas of 1628 (Cartas Anuas, 1927–29, 20:344), the *Gualacho* who did not speak *Guaraní* lived 4 days' travel from the mission of San Pablo, that is to say, in the basin of the Tibagý River in the very heart of the *Caingang* region. Likewise, the *Caagua* (*Caaigua*, "Forest Dwellers") of the Jesuits who roved between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers, near Acaray in the region of La Guaira, were undoubtedly representatives of the *Caingang* subfamily. Jesuit maps indicate other *Caagua* in the

[3] According to Xarque (1900, 2:62), the *Chiquí* lived between the Iguassú and Itatí (Ieatu) Rivers.

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101 619 region of Tapé (State of Rio Grande do Sul), an area where *Caingang* groups lived until the 19th century.[2]

Tupí.—The Indians whom Azara (1809, 2:70–75) calls *Tupy*, and who formed an enclave within the *Guaraní* region, were also the ancestors of the modern *Caingang* of the upper Uruguay River. Their territory corresponded to the forested land east of the Uruguay River between the Jesuit missions of San Xavier and San Ángel and between San Xavier and lat. 27°23′ S. Jesuit sources assign to them the region extending between the headwaters of the Piratini (near San Miguel) and the Iguassú and Jacuhy (Igay) Rivers. There is not a detail in the short description of their culture given by Azara which does not fit modern *Caingang*: agriculture, tonsure, fiber cloth, shell necklaces, bow, etc. Moreover, modern *Guaraní* still apply the name *Tupí* to the *Caingang* of San Pedro in the Argentine Territory of Misiones (Ambrosetti, 1895, p. 305).

Botocudo.—The *Aweikoma-Caingang* groups of the State of Santa Catarina, have adopted the use of the labret and are, therefore, often called *Botocudo*, a name which erroneously suggests a connection with the northern *Botocudo* of the State of Espírito Santo.

Bugre.—The name *Bugre* applied by the colonists to the *Caingang* had a pejorative meaning. It is a Portuguese word of the same root as the French "bougre." The *Guaraní* also called the *Caingang* *Caauba*, and *Caahans* (Serrano, 1939, p. 25).

PRESENT SITUATION OF THE CAINGANG GROUPS

Caingang of the State of São Paulo.—At the beginning of the present century there were five groups of wild *Caingang*, known as *Coroado*, between the Peixe, and the Aguapehy (Feio) Rivers. Formerly there were also *Caingang* groups on the lower Tieté River. They resisted the advance of the Whites and continually assaulted the workers building the railroad from São Paulo to Corumbá. In 1910, thanks to the efforts of General Rondon and of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios, peace was established and many *Caingang* settled around the two government posts created for them near the Aguapehy (Feio) River. Horta Barboza (1913, p. 24), who was one of the inspectors of the Indian Service, estimated the number of *Caingang* in that region at 500. The *Caingang* of São Paulo are also known as *Nyaofateltei* (*Nyakfã-d-ag-téie*, "Those with the long frontal hair").

Caingang of the State of Paraná.—The *Caingang* who are now established around Palmas in the State of Paraná come from the region between the Iguassú and Uruguay Rivers. In 1933, they lived in two villages near Palmas: Toldo las Lontras, on the river of the

[2] Serrano (1941) extends the southern limit of the *Coagua* to the Santa Lucia River in Corrientes.

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same name, and Toldo de Chapecó, in the region of Xanxeré. According to Baldus (1935), the population of the first village was 108, that of the second was somewhat higher but no exact figure is given. In earlier sources, the *Caingang* of the region of Palmas are often designated as Kamé after one of their moiety subdivisions.

Caingang of Santa Catarina (*Shokleng*, *Socré*, *Botocudo*, *Aweikoma*).—The nomadic or half-nomadic *Caingang* who ranged in the State of Santa Catarina from the Timbo River to the forests of the Serra do Mar and from the Rio Negro to the Uruguay River are better known as *Bugre*, a derogatory term given to them by their enemies the White settlers, or as *Shokleng*, or *Botocudo* of Santa Catarina because of their wooden labrets. Nimuendajú calls them *Aweikoma*, a word of their language meaning Indians. Though they differ culturally from the Paraná *Caingang* (Baldus, 1937 c), there is little doubt that they belong to the same linguistic family, even if their dialect is not easily understood by the *Caingang* of Palmas.

During the whole 19th century, the *Aweikoma-Caigang* of Santa Catarina have stubbornly opposed the encroachments of the Brazilian and German settlers. They were constantly pursued by professional Indian hunters, the famous "bugreiros," until the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios intervened on behalf of the remnants of the tribe. Most of them were settled in the Reservation Duque de Caixas (Municipality of Dalbergia), near the junction of the Plate River with the Rio Itajahi do Norte. In 1930, the reservation consisted of 106 persons. Another small group of *Caingang* was reported in 1935 at São Jão, south of Porto da União.

Caingang of Rio Grande do Sul.—The *Caingang* who ranged north of the Uruguay River from the mouth of the Pepiri-guassú River to that of the Rio das Canoas and those who lived between the Rio das Canoas and the Rio Pelotas were distinct from the *Aweikoma*, though the demarcation between *Caingang-Coroado* and "*Botocudo*" cannot be exactly ascertained. The *Caingang* of the northern bank of the Uruguay River were the same as, or closely related to, the groups who had their villages between the Serra Geral, the upper Uruguay River, and the Sete Missões.

In 1850 Jesuit missionaries founded three settlements for the *Caingang* of the upper Uruguay: Nonohay, Campo do Meio, and Guarita. The Indians of Nonohay numbered about 400; those of Campo do Meio, 90. The Jesuit missions were short-lived; Nonohay, however, was restored in 1872 with 300 *Caingang*, who at the end of the century were almost entirely absorbed into the local rural population. According to Von Ihering (1895, p. 40), six "aldeamentos" of *Caingang* existed in 1864 in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, with a total population of about 2,000. In 1880, their number was already greatly reduced. In the same period "wild" *Caingang* were reported

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between the Taquarí and Cahy Rivers. Today their settlements lie between Inhacorá (Nucorá) (long. 54°15′ W.) and Lagoa Vermelha (long. 51°30′ W.).

The Caingang of Misiones, Argentina.—At the end of the 19th century about 60 *Caingang* lived in the Argentine Territory of Misiones on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Central, 3 miles (5 km.) from the town of San Pedro, near the Yabotí River. According to Ambrosetti (1895, p. 307), these Indians, who were known in the region as *Tupí*, had come from Palmas or Rio Grande by crossing the upper Uruguay River. A few years later (1902), some of them returned to Brazil.

Literature on the Caingang.—Few data on the *Caingang* can be gleaned from the Colonial literature. Though the *Caingang* are often mentioned in the Jesuit texts on the Paraguayan missions, Lozano (1873–74, 1:418–427) and Azara (1904, pp. 402–407) are the only authors who give short, but fairly accurate, descriptions of these Indians. The accounts of Father Luiz de Cemitille and of Telemaco Morocines Borba were for many years our best sources. Later, L. B. Horta Barboza (1913) published very exact observations on their customs, which were supplemented by Manizer (1930). Ambrosetti (1895) has written an interesting article on the *Caingang* of San Pedro, in Misiones. The social organization and funerary rites of the *Caingang* were the subject of a special monograph by Baldus (1937 c). Henry (1941) studied the decadent remnants of the *Aweikoma* group and described their culture in psychological terms. Their language is known mainly through an excellent dictionary by Father Mansueto Barcatta de Valfloriana (1918, 1920) and a linguistic analysis by Jules Henry (1935). Ploetz and Métraux (1930) have attempted to bring together most of the data about the *Caingang* contained in the literature up to 1928.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—The only *Caingang* who subsisted entirely by hunting and collecting were those of the State of Santa Catarina, the so-called *Botocudo or Aweikoma*. These Indians, however, remembered a time when they, like all other *Caingang* groups, practiced agriculture.

The ancient *Guayaná*, ancestors of the modern *Caingang*, are described as relatively sedentary agriculturists, though our sources stress the importance of hunting in their economy. This was also true for the *Caingang* at the end of the 19th century. All their groups raised maize (red, white, and violet varieties), pumpkins, and beans (a white variety), but perhaps depended less than their *Guaraní* neighbors on these crops. Like many Indians who had become acquainted with farming in recent times through the intermediary of

3:Henry E-5 (1932-1934)1935 SM3 Caingang SM3
Awelkoma

121 The data for this paper were obtained during my stay among the Kaingang Indians of Santa Catarina, Brazil, from December 1932 until January 1934. Although the object of the investigation was primarily ethnological enough data were obtained for an outline of the language. The language [124] was studied principally in order that I might learn to speak it — which I did — and the great bulk of my ethnological work was done in the native language. Nevertheless, since the language was utterly strange to me and there was no source from which I might learn it[2], except from the Indians, I found it necessary to make a certain amount of systematic analysis.

101 There are several Indian tribes in southern Brazil that are called Kaingang: one in São Paulo, another in Paraná, and still others in Santa Catarina. Those that I studied are in

[122] [1] The field work was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Columbia University Department of Anthropology.

[2] I am indebted to Eduardo de Lima e Silva Hoerhan of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios for assistance in the early days of the study.

[3] Formerly part of the Municipality of Blumenau.

[197] [4] Ehrenreich, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, NS. III, 1905, pp. 52, 53; Festschrift für Adolf

[p. 172 (B)]

3:Henry E-5 (1932-1934)19355M3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

101 the latter state, in the Municipality of Dalbergia[3], at the Post of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios, "Duque de Caxias".

197 The Kaingang have been grouped in the Ges-Tapuya linguistic family with the Botocudo of the Rio Doce in the state of Minas Geraes[4]. I find, on comparing the available data that there is no justification for such grouping. It is desireable, therefore, to consider the Kaingang dialects alone until more material is forthcoming.

CONSONANTS.

194 The most striking single feature of the basic consonantic scheme is the large number of nasals: 9 out of 18 of the consonants are nasals or are accompanied by nasal voicing. These last are the *mb*, *nd* and *ŋg* in the plosive series.

Bastian. Also, following Chamberlain's map as best we can by latitude and longitude (AA. NS. V. 15; 1913, pp. 236—247) we see that he extends his Tapuyan group into Paraná and São Paulo without including Santa Catarina. If he includes the Kaingang speaking tribes of Paraná and São Paulo in his Tapuyan family he must extend its limits into Santa Catarina.

[p. 172 (c)]

Memoir on the Botocudo of Paraná and Santa Catarina, Organized by the Indian Protection Service Under the Direction of Dr. José Maria de Paula

101 The Botocudo of Santa Catarina are descendants of the primitive aborigines who were formerly scattered all over the interior of southern Brazil--the Tapuya, members of the great Aimore nation. According to this view, which seems to us the most appropriate, the Botocudo now remaining in the camps of the Plate River are the last survivors of that large and warlike nation.

648 [31] This tribe used to roam the vast area bounded by the Iguaçu and Uruguay rivers and the ocean, waging a colossal struggle against the civilized populations who were clearing their forests and exterminating their major source of food--their game.

The first verified notices of Indian attack date from the year 1830.

In order to protect the colonists in those areas most severely threatened by the Indians, a troop of so-called pedestres [foot soldiers] was created in 1836. Their function was to set the aborigines to flight and to pursue them; but this did not put an end to the raids.

In his speech of 1856, the president of the province, Dr. João José Coutinho, suggests that the only truly effective measure would be to force these "murderers and sons of barbarians" to leave the forest and settle in locations from which they could not escape.

Translator's Note

104 The spelling of Portuguese words and geographical names has been changed in accordance with the 1943 orthography reform. All Indian words have been left as in the original owing to their doubtful phonetic rendition.

It may be stated that (´) marks stress, (^) indicates a close vowel sound, and x stands for English sh.